

THE COLONIZATIONIST

AND

JOURNAL OF FREEDOM.

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THE ENEMIES OF THE CAUSE.

IN reference to a point alluded to by one of the speakers at the Boston Lyceum,* a most efficient agent of the Society, who, within the last three months has delivered more than forty discourses on the subject, and travelled more than eleven hundred miles in four of the New-England States, expresses himself thus, in a letter which lies before us. After mentioning many facts, which, as connected with names of persons, we do not feel authorized to specify, he says—‘So far as my vocation has enabled me to judge, while travelling in all the N. E. States, I cannot doubt that the attacks upon the Society will serve only,—by developing its principles, and by bringing out the energies of its friends,—to demonstrate its indestructibility, and to ensure its increased usefulness. Young men of vigorous minds, who had been zealous opposers of the Society, have been led to examine its claims, and are now its warm friends,’ &c.

Again: At the last meeting of the Massachusetts Society in this city, a distinguished member of it observed, that ‘the opposition which we have to encounter here, has at least this good effect, that it affords to our Southern brethren the best evidence they could possibly have, that this Institution is managed with the necessary discretion and moderation. When they find it attacked as

* See the first number of this Magazine.

too favorable to the interests of proprietors of slaves, by men whom we may perhaps, without offence, denominate the indiscreet friends of freedom and humanity, they will naturally conclude that we have observed, in our proceedings, the caution which the nature of the object so imperiously dictates, and that our errors, if we have committed any, are on the safe side.' The reasoning of these remarks seems to us conclusive, so far as it goes; and there is much occasion to believe that facts have been and are coincident with such theory. The influence of the Society is unquestionably increasing in all the slave-holding sections of the Union, with perhaps the exception of South Carolina and Georgia, even more rapidly than is the case where the cause is most flourishing at the north. On this subject we will cite the speech of Mr. Finley, one of the National Society's most able agents, made at the annual meeting at the Capital. We earnestly invite the attention of the candid reader to this passage :

It will be borne in mind, that a prominent object of this Institution, is to afford the means for a safe, gradual, and *voluntary* abolition of slavery. And it is this view of the subject that constitutes its chief glory in the eye of its slave-holding friends. I know that much pains have been taken to calumniate our brethren of the South, by representing them to be the advocates of perpetual despotism. From an extensive and familiar acquaintance with their views and sentiments, formed upon actual observation, I know this not to be the fact. This misrepresentation of southern views came in a shape so authentic as even to deceive the Board of Managers themselves. A few days since, I saw a letter in the office of the American Colonization Society, written in the summer of 1831, by a gentleman who had recently visited New-Orleans, the contents of which truly surprised me. It represented that, with great labor, he had done a little in that city for the cause; that he had formed a small Society privately, which fact he advised should not be publicly made known, for fear of awakening hostility; that it had been suggested to him that his life was in danger! &c. Shortly after this letter was written, I proceeded, under the direction of the Board of Managers, to New-Orleans, with a company of emigrants for Liberia, with a view to their embarkation at that port. Immediately on my arrival at New-Orleans, I proceeded to the Mayor's office, and reported the arrival and destination of the emigrants. I announced my arrival and the object of my visit in the public papers; and after despatching a vessel with the emigrants to Liberia, I gave notice in all the newspapers, of a public meeting, to be held in the Presbyterian Church, on a Sunday night, for the purpose of hearing an address on the subject of African Colonization. The meeting was well attended, and the gallery was crowded with colored people, bond and free: I entered into a full explanation of the principles and operations of the Society. So far from producing any alarm or disquietude, the Louisiana State Colonization Society was immediately formed, under the auspices of some of the most distinguished men and largest slave-proprietors of the State. This Society now numbers in its ranks a majority of the members of both Houses of the State Legislature. Several persons authorised me to forward their names as subscribers to the American Colonization Society, on the plan of Gerrit Smith, one of whom has since left the Society a legacy of \$10,000.* I met with circumstances of equal and even greater encourage-

* Another bequest to the Society has been announced, of equal amount, from Mr. Ireland, late of New-Orleans.

ment to our great cause, in other parts of the extreme South which I visited, especially in Woodville, (Miss.) Augusta, (Ga.) and Charleston, (S. C.) I will not detain you by entering into details. It is, however, due to my feelings, and an act of common justice to say, that the generous sympathy manifested for our cause, in the places above mentioned, and in other places in the South which might be mentioned, and the noble liberality with which it has been patronised by them, are above all praise.

I know that an opinion prevails very extensively at the north, that the southern people are attached to slavery in principle—that they would not get rid of it if they could—nay, that there is such a morbid sensibility on the subject, that they will not suffer even a calm discussion of any remedy, however feasible and peaceful. In order to remove this misapprehension, I have merely to say, that I have publicly discussed this subject every where in the Southern States, from the Eastern shore of Maryland to the Gulf of Mexico, in the presence of hundreds of slaves at a time, and with the general approbation of the audience to which my addresses were delivered—and have uniformly represented it as affording the best and only safe means of gradually and entirely abolishing slavery. Indeed, so well is the moral influence of the operations of this Society understood in the extreme south, that all the advocates of perpetual slavery are bitterly opposed to it; and none in that region are its advocates, but the friends of gradual, peaceful, and ultimate entire emancipation. In fine, this Society is drawing the line in a distinct manner, between these two classes of people at the south. The friends of human liberty are enlisting under the banner of colonization, and the advocates of perpetual despotism are arranging themselves under the banner of its adversaries, and it requires not the spirit of prophecy to foretell whose principles, in this age of reason and religion, and in this country of universal intelligence, will become universally popular.*

The fact last mentioned here by Mr. Finley, cannot be too well understood. At the late quarterly meeting of the 'Anti-Slavery Society,' in this city, Mr. Garrison,—a gentleman whom, though he calls the Colonization Society 'a great red dragon,' and several other hard names, we shall not undertake to requite in his own coin,—asked, in a somewhat triumphant tone, 'Who are the enemies of the Society? * * Are they the friends of slavery?' &c. &c. We do not hesitate to answer this question in the affirmative. The enemies of the Society are substantially the friends of slavery. And we do not intend by this to throw a slur on the motives of the abolitionists, after the fashion of the preposterous charge they gravely bring against our Society of *a deliberate design to perpetuate slavery!* By no means. We know some of them, and we believe all of them to be the 'friends of freedom and humanity,' whatever difference of opinion there may be about their 'discretion,' and about the balance of good or evil which their strenuous exertions,—they should have credit for industry also,—may have produced, or be likely to produce, directly or indirectly, to the cause they endeavor to promote. But we mean to say, that, whether or not their efforts tend, so far as they have any effect, immediately or ultimately, to aggravate or to perpetuate slavery—

* Sixteenth Report.

and whether or not, therefore, they might, without reference to their motives, be called the enemies or the friends of that accursed system,—it is quite certain at least that all the opposition made to the Colonization Society, by the ultra-abolitionists* of the north, is but a drop in the bucket compared with the opposition made by the friends of the slave-system at the south. Who does not know that against this latter class the Society, ever since its origin, has been compelled to maintain a constant warfare, in defence of the principles of freedom and the rights of man? Mr. Gurley, the Secretary of the National Society,—who, with as much inconsistency as injustice, has been accused on one hand of a leaning in favor of slavery, and on the other of favoring emancipation with a zeal too fervent to do good, in a pamphlet recently published at Washington, under the title of a ‘Letter on the American Colonization Society,’ and of which the authorship is avowed on its face, says,

It is a fact most pertinent to the object of this letter, and worth a thousand arguments, that while Mr. Garrison is representing the Colonization Society as hostile to abolition, and tending to strengthen and perpetuate the system of slavery, nearly every friend of perpetual slavery at the south is an enemy to the Society; and the *only* opposition that I am aware of at the south, arises from the conviction among the enemies of any and all abolition, that the tendency of the Society is to promote the voluntary abolition of slavery. Are the enemies of the Society at the south in circumstances less favorable than Mr. Garrison for the formation of a correct judgment on this subject?

Mr. Gurley, in this pamphlet, also republishes,—seasonably we think,—an article on ‘South Carolina opinions of the Society,’ which appeared originally in the *African Repository* three years ago. In the outset the Institution had many friends in that section—from what motives they supported it, is not for us to decide—but as its tendencies in favor of emancipation have been gradually more and more developed, (while at the same time its adherence to a legitimate *modus operandi* has been more distinct and indisputable,) the complacency with which it was regarded has been gradually transformed into a virulent hostility. In 1820, the sum of five hundred dollars was remitted from Charleston for the Society. But seven years afterwards, a distinguished writer, over the signature of ‘Brutus,’ denounced the scheme as ‘an insidious attack on the domestic tranquility of the south; as the nest-egg placed in Congress by northern abolitionists, that therefrom might be hatched

* We use this term because, in some parts of the country, we should be misunderstood without the adjunct, as we should to use the term *anti-slavery* without explanation. The colonizationists are both abolitionists and anti-slavery men; but *under present circumstances*, they would not covet the honor or the benefit, we apprehend, of being generally confounded with those who assume those names.

and raised for the south, anxiety, inquietude, and troubles, to which there could be no end.' The Charleston Mercury, on the 24th of April, 1829, asks, in the most exasperated tone, 'Will Congress aid a Society reprobated at the south, and justly regarded as murderous in its principles, and as tending inevitably to the destruction of the public peace? Will it become an instrument in the hands of fanaticism, and act as the abettor of the incendiary and assassin?'

Now, not to follow up this subject farther, one of two conclusions would seem to be irresistible: either that the Society had shown itself so manifestly and strenuously 'anti-slavery' in its declarations and argument,—decided and forcible always, though never boisterous,—as that the slave-owners of the sections in question, were induced sincerely to confound it with ultra-abolitionism in all its obnoxious aspects, and therefore, without reference to the character of the slave-system, to reprobate at all hazards such a society, with such a scheme; or else, that, from the same conviction of its radical tendency and influence, they determined, as friends of slavery and as enemies of emancipation, to oppose the Society in the most effectual manner, by casting upon it the imputation of 'fanaticism.' In a word, this opposition implied and does imply the exact reverse of what it is accused of by those persons at the north who take to themselves the merit of being its sole opponents. Evidence of such a character, from such a quarter, certainly requires no comment of ours.

We shall conclude with one more quotation from Mr. Gurley's article. After abundantly proving the premises here alluded to, he adds:

The hostility manifested towards the American Colonization Society has not been excited, then, by *any departure of the Society from the design and the principles* which it avowed at its origin, nor yet from any thing in its character or proceedings unfriendly to the rights and interest of the southern States. It is the success of the Society—it is the fulfilment of the hopes and predictions of its founders—that has awakened the desperate and malignant spirit which now comes forth to arrest its progress. *Voluntary* emancipation begins to follow in the train of colonization; and the advocates of perpetual slavery are indignant at witnessing, in effectual operation, a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exereise, without restraint, the purest and the noblest feelings of our nature. These strenuous assertors of the right to judge for themselves in regard to their domestic policy, are alarmed at a state of things which secures the same right to every individual of their community. Do they apprehend that the system which they would perpetuate cannot continue unimpaired unless the privilege of emancipating his slaves for the purpose of colonization, shall be denied to the master? Do they feel that in this country and this age, the influences of truth and freedom are becoming too active and powerful, and that all their forces must be summoned to the contest with these foes to their purposes and their doctrines? If so, their defeat is inevitable. Such men have more to

42 *The African Mother at her Daughter's Grave.*

do than to counteract the efforts of our Society. Few and feeble even in the States of the south, they must gird themselves for warfare against all the friends of virtue and liberty, of man and God.

The Society has been charged with intending 'to disturb the domestic tranquillity of the south,' and no slander could be more false, excepting only the accusation now seriously advanced, in the opposite quarter, of 'a *design* to perpetuate slavery'! To call its *tendency* such, would seem to be quite enough, were there any proof or any probability to *that* effect; and this, if it be made a question, we shall always hold ourselves and our pages free to discuss; but the hardihood of the grosser charge places it beyond the pale of controversy. Others may think differently; but in our opinion, it can hardly be said either to demand argument or deserve notice.

THE HEATHEN AFRICAN MOTHER AT HER DAUGHTER'S GRAVE.

BY MRS. SIGOURNEY.

[Some of the Pagan Africans visit the burial places of their departed relatives, with offerings of food and drink. Mothers have been known, for a long course of years, to bring, in an agony of grief, this annual oblation to their children's graves.]

'Daughter!—I bring thee food,—
The rice-cake pure and white,
The cocoa with its milky blood,
Dates and pomegranates bright,
The orange in its gold,
Fresh from the favorite tree,
Nuts in their brown and husky fold,
Dearest, I spread for thee.

'Year after year I tread
Thus to thy low retreat,—
But now the snow-hairs mark my head,
And age enchains my feet;
Oh!—many a change of woe
Hath dimm'd thy spot of birth,
Since first my gushing tears did flow
O'er this thy bed of earth.

'There came a midnight cry;
Flames from our hamlet rose,
A race of pale-brow'd men were nigh—
They were our country's foes:
Thy wounded sire was borne
By tyrant force away,—

Thy brothers from our cabin torn,
While bathed in blood I lay.

'I watched for their return,
Upon the rocky shore,
Till night's red planets ceased to burn,
And the long rains were o'er;
Till seed their hand had sown,
A ripened fruitage bore,
The billows echoed to my moan,
But they returned no more.

'Yet thou art slumbering deep;
And to my wildest cry,
When vexed with agony I weep,
Dost render no reply:
Daughter!—my youthful pride,
The idol of my eye,—
Why dost thou leave thy mother's side,
Beneath those sands to lie?'

Long o'er the hopeless grave,
Where her lost darling slept,
Invoking gods that could not save,
That Pagan mother wept:
Oh! for some voice of power,
To sooth her bursting sighs—
'*There is a resurrection hour—
Thy daughter's dust shall rise.*'

Christians! ye hear the cry
From heathen Afric's strand,—
Haste! lift salvation's banners high,
O'er that benighted land:
With faith that claims the skies,
Her misery control;
And plant the hope that never dies
Deep in her tear-wet soul.

LETTER OF MR. GURLEY,

On the American Colonization Society.

In the New-York Observer, a few weeks since, was published a letter, addressed by the Secretary of the National Society to Henry Ibbertson, Esq. of Sheffield, England. It is intended as an answer to objections brought against the Society by zealous 'anti-slavery men' both in England and this country; and it so

effectually serves that purpose, as appears to us, that we regret not being able to give it place in our pages at full length.

After citing the sentiment of Lord Bacon, that the law of Jesus Christ, 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you,' 'is the perfection of the law of nature and of nations,' binding equally upon man as an individual, and as a member of political society,—and after admitting that the American Colonization Society, if it violate in principle or practice this law, is unworthy, utterly unworthy of private or public patronage,—Mr. Gurley goes on to illustrate the position that though this great law be itself immutable, *yet the action and conduct required by it are relatively various in different individuals*; and in regard to any one individual, *dependent for various modifications on the circumstances in which he may be placed.*

Having strongly fortified this outpost, the writer calls attention to the peculiar necessity of using caution and discretion in a case involving the permanent interests of human beings; and in which changes are proposed to be wrought in the institutions of society, old and established, connected and interwoven with its whole frame-work and constitution, and running into and affecting the strongest passions and feelings, the most vital principles of its existence. He then borrows the following remarkable passage from an essay of 'the great Edwards,' (as he justly entitles that eminent man,) on carelessness of the future consequences of things:

Nothing can be more evident from the New Testament, than (alluding to the introduction of things new and strange) that such things ought to be done with *great caution and moderation*, to avoid the offence that may thereby be given, and the prejudices that might be raised to cloy and hinder the progress of religion. Yea that it ought to be thus in things that are *in themselves good and excellent*, and of great weight; provided they are not things of the nature of absolute duty, which though they may appear to be innovations yet cannot be neglected without disobedience to the command of God. And the Apostles avoided teaching the christians in those early days, at least for a great while, *some high and excellent divine truths*, because they could not bear them yet. (1 Cor. iii. c. 1, 2. Heb. v. 2, to the end.) Thus strictly did the Apostles observe the rule that their blessed Master gave them, of not putting new wine into old bottles, lest they should burst the bottles and lose the wine. And how did Christ himself, while on earth, forbear so plainly to teach his disciples the *doctrines of Christianity* concerning his satisfaction, and the particular benefit of his death, resurrection, and ascension, because in that infant state the disciples were then in, their minds were not *prepared for such instruction*. 'I have many things yet to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He the spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth. And with many parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to bear it.' These things might be enough to convince any one, who does not think himself wiser than Christ and his Apostles, that *great prudence and caution* should be used in introducing things into the church of God, that are very uncommon, though in themselves they may be *very excellent*, lest by our rashness and imprudent haste, we hinder religion much more than we help it. Persons

that are influenced by any indiscreet zeal are always in too much haste: they are impatient of delays, and are therefore for jumping to the uppermost step first, before they have taken the preceding steps, whereby they expose themselves to fall and break their bones. Oftentimes in their haste, they overshoot their mark, and frustrate their own end. They put that which they would obtain further out of reach than it was before, and establish and confirm that which they would remove. *Things must have time to ripen.* The prudent husbandman waits till he has received the former and the latter rain, and till the harvest is ripe, before he reaps.

Having in view the application of these principles to the case in hand,—which is stated to be, not a question in regard to the principle of law or duty, binding upon all our citizens in their relation to this large class of our fellow beings, but in regard to the plans to be adopted and the means to be used by the humane and religious community to secure its full and most beneficial manifestation,—Mr. Gurley proceeds to argue in favor of the Colonization Society and system. The following he deems to be established points :

1. *Some* circumstances, beyond the control not only of the christian community, but of the American people, and for which they of course are not responsible ; and others for which they are responsible, but which no enlightened man can expect, (at least for ages to come,) will be materially changed, operate to prevent the free people of color, while in this country, from rising to that elevation, happiness, and usefulness which they might enjoy in Africa. Not here can they feel the same sense of freedom, the same enterprise and hope, and those strong motives of action, which might cause their elevation in a distant community, and on a wider field for honorable and useful conduct.

2. Nothing can be safely and peacefully done for the direct and immediate abolition of slavery, *but with the consent of the masters.*

3. In the present state of things, no general effort (and by this I mean no effort in which good men from every State of the Union can unite) can be made for the benefit of any portion of our colored population, except such as in its *direct* action shall be confined exclusively to the FREE.

4. Such a general effort, for the benefit of the FREE, if connected with their colonization in Africa, will exert a far more powerful influence in favor of the voluntary manumission of slaves, than if directed to their improvement in the United States ; because of the prevailing opinion at the south, that the instruction and elevation of the free will produce such discontent in the slaves, that they would prove of comparatively small value to those who enjoyed them ; and that the *emancipation* of the slaves, should they remain in this country, would be followed by evils *greater than slavery itself.* This opinion may be erroneous, but it cannot be *suddenly* changed, and if erroneous, will be soonest corrected by the reflections which the prosecution of the scheme of African colonization will inevitably excite.

As to the matter of instruction, we may be permitted to add, that the greatest objection to it, on the part of the slave-holders, at the present time, arises from the efforts of some northern friends of immediate abolition to circulate publications among the slave-population, whose direct tendency,—to say nothing of their design,

—is, in the opinion of the slave-holders at least, to promote insolence, jealousy, and insurrection on the one hand, and increased severity of discipline and legislation on the other. Those who look into the statute-books will find that those laws which are complained of as most ‘sanguinary,’ have been passed with obvious reference, as to time and mode, to these injudicious, ungenerous, and, in our opinion, unchristian exertions of the ‘indiscreet friends of freedom,’ to operate upon what the New-York Emancipator calls ‘*the physical force of the enslaved.*’ Mr. Gurley speaks of immediate abolition :

To dissolve this connection *now*, would, I conceive, in numerous instances, be, on the part of the masters, a positive violation of that law of love, which, as disciples of Christ, they are bound to obey. It would be doing to others as, in an exchange of circumstances, they would not wish others to do to them. The correctness of this opinion will be evident, if you consider the position of a christian master, inheriting a large estate in Virginia or South Carolina, upon which are numerous slaves, ignorant, unprepared (from servile habits of dependence upon the will of another for direction and support,) to manage for themselves, connected by marriage with slaves on neighboring plantations, over which he has no control, and who can give liberty to his slaves, *only* on condition of their expulsion from the limits of the State. The question for such a master to decide is not (so far as his conduct is concerned) whether the laws of his State be right or wrong, but one of *individual duty* towards the unfortunate human beings of whom he is recognized as master, and towards the community in which he resides. That he is morally right in sustaining the relation of master on any other *principle* than that of the *law of love*, or any longer than he can do it with obedience to that law, I neither believe nor admit.

All this, it should be observed, Mr. Gurley applies to the *present state of things*. In this connection he gives the following reasons for supporting the Colonization Society :

1. This Society proposes the only plan of benevolent action, for the benefit of this population, in which our *whole* benevolent community can be expected to unite.

2. The plan of the Society is the *best* that can be devised for those most directly interested in it—the *free people of color*. No reflecting man can deny, that causes not under the control of humanity, legislation, or religion, retard the improvement, depress the mind, and limit the happiness and usefulness of this class in the United States, and that these causes have no existence in Africa.

This is not a matter merely of *theory*, but a matter of *fact*. We have the testimony of emigrants themselves, confirmed by that of respectable citizens of the United States, and of enlightened foreigners, to prove that the free man of color in Liberia, feels himself *relieved from embarrassments which are thrown around him here* ; that he experiences the influence of new motives ; finds himself in

a school of discipline exactly suited to develop his faculties, elicit invention, excite enterprise, and form him for high and honorable action. He is placed in the widest field for usefulness, and exerts a most *beneficial*, and (as the colony shall advance) may be expected to exert a most *extensive* influence upon the African tribes.

3. The Society is most happily adapted to exert a powerful influence in favor of the voluntary emancipation of slaves.

I do not hesitate to acknowledge, that my hope of the *peaceful* abolition of slavery in this country, rests mainly upon the *moral* and *religious sentiments* of my countrymen. * * * The spirit and principles of our government, the precepts of our holy religion, and the general feelings of our people at the south as well as at the north, are against it as a permanent system. But it must be abolished *by* and not *against* the will of the south.

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Two things have operated in the United States against emancipation. 1st, Apprehension on the part of the south, of rash and dangerous interference from the north. And 2dly, Fears that abolition could not be effected without producing evils greater than slavery itself. By the Colonization Society both the obstacles have been in a great measure removed. Southern men adopted the plan of the Society, at its origin, not only as benevolent in itself, but as one which, if successful, would, in their opinion, be extensively adopted by individuals and states, with a view to emancipation; and northern men approved of it, not only because they saw its benevolence towards the free people of color, and its promise of good to Africa, but because of all plans this alone received the sanction of their southern brethren, as well adapted to promote the voluntary abolition of slavery. The fact that the Society has assumed common ground, on which the benevolent from the north and the south can unite, adds immensely to its moral influence on the system of slavery. It creates mutual confidence. It represses the overheated zeal of the north, and excites the too inactive humanity of the south.

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It is a prevailing opinion among the humane and virtuous citizens of the south, that whenever slaves can be liberated with benefit to themselves, without danger to the public, they ought to be liberated. The sentiment of humanity and charity, to which we must look for their emancipation, requires, doubtless, to be generally strengthened and excited to greater activity. The Society shows the practicability of emancipation on both the conditions just mentioned, and this gives the opportunity and offers powerful inducements for the discharge of an acknowledged obligation. It leaves no valid excuse for perpetuating slavery on the ground of necessity. It does more. It constantly invites public attention to the subject of slavery, excites every where reflection upon it, and by indirect influence (the more efficient because indirect) awakens reason and conscience to perform their office in making evident our duties, and enforcing the fulfilment of them towards our whole colored population.

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The only desirable influence to be exerted by any voluntary association, on

this subject, then, must be to produce deeper, more universal, and more active feelings of kindness and affection towards the slave, a moral sentiment of power enough to determine the will of the south in favor of emancipation. Now it is universally true, that the generous and humane feelings of men, are moved far less by argument and direct appeals, far less by showing that they ought to be moved, and why they ought to be moved, than by indirect influences, by touching examples of goodness, by the beautiful and beneficial effects of such feelings in the lives of those who cherish them, and as manifested in the blessed consequences resulting from their exercise, to those who are the objects of them. Such an indirect influence, gentle, persuasive, but mighty, does the Colonization Society send forth on the public mind in favor of emancipation. Since its origin, it has done more to produce voluntary emancipation than all other causes and influences; and the growing success of its enterprise adds daily and immensely to its moral power.

The following are considered as some of the fundamental errors of opinion entertained by the abolitionists :

1. The doctrine that a temporary relation, (involving authority on the one side and dependence and a general obedience and service on the other,) between master and slave, can in no case be innocent.

2. That such a relation ought to be instantly dissolved, without regard to the interests of the parties concerned.

3. That in present circumstances, slavery ought to be abolished by means not acting solely through, but to a great degree against and in defiance of the will of the south.

4. That our colored population can be as prosperous and happy and useful in this country, as if formed into a community, separate and distinct from the whites.

5. That in the expression of our individual opinions, and the exertion of our individual influence on the subject of slavery, regard is not to be had to circumstances and consequences; that we are no less at liberty to inform the slaves of their wrongs, degradation, and misery, than bound to proclaim truth to those who are prepared to receive it, and to enforce moral obligations upon the masters.

6. That the best way, if not the only way, to produce the abolition of slavery in this country, is to thunder forth denunciations against it, as a flagrant crime, universally, against God and man, not to be tolerated under any modifications, for a moment, but to be destroyed at a blow.

Were doctrines like these true, (and I believe them to be false,) the publication of them by citizens of the northern states, while opinions at the south remain as at present, can do little but arouse the deepest and most violent feelings of our nature, in hostility towards those who inculcate them; and produce a fixed purpose to repel at all hazards any attempted invasion of southern rights on the subject of slavery. It will, if persisted in, I fear, produce a conflict between the north and the south, more appalling than any ever witnessed in our country.

These suggestions appear to us well worthy of a most serious consideration. We earnestly commend the entire letter to the attention of every class of our readers.

HISTORY OF A SLAVE.

A case has recently occurred in this city, illustrative of the aspect which the Colonization scheme presents to the unprejudiced colored man, and of the perfect fairness with which its operations are carried on.

The individual referred to, was born on the plantation of General N. in one of the Southern States. When he had reached the age of twelve years, that gentleman disposed of a large portion of his property to defray heavy expenses incurred during the revolutionary war, and our slave-lad, among others, was sold to an Ohio planter. From that time he never saw or heard of his parents. After several years' residence with his new master, the desire of freedom impelled him to effect his escape into the western wilderness. Soon after, falling in with a company of speculators, who were on their way to Maryland with a large drove of horses, he was, for the sake of his assistance, taken under their protection; and he continued in their company as far as Pennsylvania, being enabled to proceed securely by means of a passport and some pecuniary assistance which they afforded him. For some years he procured a subsistence by a sea-faring life, but finally settled in the State of Maine, where he supported a large family by the produce of a little farm. Here he experienced the kindness of several neighboring gentlemen. Having imbibed religious impressions while quite young, from his father, who was a Baptist, and being of a serious turn of mind, he acquired the habit of borrowing books from these friends, with the perusal of which his wife, who could read, enlivened the winter evenings, and occupied the leisure intervals of the Sabbath. Among the rest, the *African Repository* and other publications of the American Colonization Society fell into their hands. An acquaintance with the establishments and objects of that Society naturally induced a desire to procure for their children, (several fine boys,) the benefits of colonization. After much discussion and inquiry, and with the advice and aid of the gentlemen just mentioned, the husband sold his little farm, and having procured clothing, utensils, &c. took passage with his family for Boston, in order to make application for a conveyance to Liberia. During the voyage, however, his wife, disheartened by sea sickness, began to doubt the expediency of the enterprise. The gentleman to whom they were recommended, also frankly declared his fears of the effects of the African climate upon the constitution of persons so advanced in years. The result was a

change of purpose in the mind of the wife, though the husband was still bent upon the voyage. He often placed his hand fondly upon the heads of his boys, and spoke of the conviction he felt that it would be better for them to emigrate than to remain here. He tarried in the city a week or two, rather in the hope of inducing her consent to his plan; but finding his efforts unsuccessful, he reluctantly concluded to turn his face homeward once more. Before leaving, he addressed a note to several gentlemen in the city, who had warmly befriended him, of which the following is a literal transcript. Considering the writer's history, it is a sort of curiosity in literature, and we do not feel at liberty to destroy the authenticity of the document by amending its style:

SIRS,

I hav Close my affairs on your advise namely the Collonizaton Society and hav Sould my property To disadvantage and on my arival in Boston Mr T—— advise me not to go on. who is one of the Collonizaist and now all of my Towles is on my hand whitch I hav bought for the Liberia perpous and Now I am about To imbark again and would be very thinksfoul for a little a Sistance from that moste benevelon Society if it Shoul Not be No mour then that whitch I hav paid out for my Towles whitch is of no use to me now and they shall be at the Service of the Society if they wishes, and Oblige your

H**** V** M*****.

It hardly need be added that the prayer of the petitioner was promptly granted, and that he turned back on his way to Maine, if not rejoicing, yet abundantly satisfied with the kindness of his friends in the city.

NEW-YORK CITY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WE had the pleasure of attending a public meeting of this Society on Wednesday, the 8th inst. of the 'anniversary week.' It was held in Dr. Spring's church, and was attended by a large and highly respectable audience. The chair having been taken by President Duer, and a prayer offered by the Rev. Dr. Cuyler, of Poughkeepsie, the following Resolution was moved by the Rev. J. N. Danforth, Agent of the American Colonization Society for New England and New-York:

Resolved, That the enterprise of African Colonization demands the continued and increased efforts of the benevolent and patriotic in all parts of the United States, as tending, in co-operation with other influences, to improve the condition of the free people of color, and to hasten the voluntary and safe abolition of slavery.

On the former of these points, Mr. Danforth said, it might be new to many of those present, but it was a fact, that thousands of the free people of color were desirous of emigrating to Africa, and the number of individuals who entertain this wish was annually increasing. Who could then refuse them an opportunity to go to a country of their own, where they might rise to that rank of dignity in the scale of human nature, which they were capable of holding? For it was not now to be proved that they possessed capabilities of improvement in as high a degree as the whites. As to Africa, if any one doubts her capacity for the arts and virtues of civilization, let him look to the history of that country. Northern Africa was the birth-place of the arts and sciences. The genius of Africa had not been doubted till her sons had been debased by the slavery and oppression of three hundred and fifty years, and the only matter of wonder furnished by their present condition was, that under the abuse and tyranny of ages, the last spark of their intellect had not become extinguished. The present state of the Colony at Liberia was as flourishing as that of any new settlement which any where exists. The standard of the temperance reform was not higher any where than in Liberia, excepting perhaps at the Sandwich Islands. There was but one place in Monrovia where ardent spirits was sold, and the cost of a license to sell it was three hundred dollars. He adverted to the history and results of early colonies in America, to show that they were the means, after long struggles, of carrying population, power, and the arts of civilization throughout the continent. There was no reason then to doubt that the Colony at Liberia would be the means of civilizing Africa.

In a climate congenial to the African constitution,—on a soil fertile in the richest products,—on a coast where commerce spreads her sails to every breeze,—where the Sabbath bell is heard from Sabbath to Sabbath,—where the missionary is,—where the British and Foreign Bible Society send their bibles to interior tribes, many of whom can read as well as this audience,—who does not look for events which for grandeur and glory have never been equalled?

The slave-trade, though denounced by all good men, and by many who were not so good, was still carried on. Mr. D. believed that this Colony would put an end to it. Legitimate traffic, as the country became civilized, would be substituted for the traffic of flesh and blood, and the Colony would afford great facilities to the efforts of those powers which are engaged in suppressing the trade. But it was said by some, is not the slave-trade carried on at home? Let us first put an end to the domestic traffic. With mortification and shame, he would confess that there did exist a domestic

traffic in slaves. Why it was not abolished, at least in the District of Columbia, he could not tell. The constitution and laws of the country did not permit us to touch the subject of slavery in any point, but they did permit us to exert an influence over public opinion, which might end in the extinction of this traffic. The total abolition of the foreign slave-trade would open a way for the suppression of the domestic trade. We must take care to avoid any measure which will inflame the minds of those whose confidence must be gained, or all our efforts are lost. There is no difference among us as to ends; let us then use constitutional and prudent means. His opinion was the same in regard to the laws at the south forbidding the residence within the State of emancipated slaves. Of the policy of those laws we could not become fair judges, without being on the spot, and understanding fully the peculiar relations of slavery and freedom. A thousand considerations which it was unnecessary to name, had combined to establish this policy in the southern states, and we must take the laws as we find them.

Finally, he considered the Colony as adapted to open a way for the diffusion of the Gospel; not, however, that it was a missionary society any more than it was an abolition society. But he rejoiced to say that it numbered among its founders and most zealous advocates, a Mills, a Finley, and an Ashmun. They had now gone to their rest and their reward; but their names secure the Society from the slur which had been attempted to be cast upon it as a slave-holder's society. For himself he rejoiced that slave-holders patronised the Society. This to him was a principle recommendation of the Society. If the south says we have hostile designs upon their interests, that will place the slaves beyond our reach. He had remarked that this was not a missionary society—but its early friends had this object steadily in view. What said Samuel Finley? 'This work is of God, and it will succeed.' What said Mills, on the eve of his departure? 'We go to Africa to civilize and christianize the most oppressed country in the world.' Their remains are now consecrated, as is the cause which they espoused.

The motion of Mr. D. was seconded by Mr. Thatcher, of Boston, whose remarks, with those of the Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New-Haven, and Gerrit Smith, Esq. of Peterborough, N. Y. we feel ourselves compelled to omit. Mr. Finley, agent of the Society, (and son of the distinguished founder of the Parent Institution,) presented the following communication from the Maryland State Society, to which we ask the careful attention of our readers. Mr.

Finley considered it as putting an end forever to what was said about the tendency of the Society to perpetuate slavery.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society, held at the Colonization office, on Monday, the 30th of April, 1833, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted :

Whereas, it is the desire of the Maryland State Colonization Society to hasten, so far as it can, the arrival of the period when slavery shall cease to exist in Maryland; and whereas the Society believe that this can best be done by advocating and assisting the cause of colonization, which is the truest, the safest, and the most efficient auxiliary of freedom, under existing circumstances; and whereas the cause of colonization, which has already produced great results, and from which so much is still anticipated, must depend in Maryland upon the facilities afforded for the transportation and reception of emigrants on the coast of Africa, which can only be secured to the necessary and desired extent by the establishment of settlements in Africa, where there will be no restraints upon emigration beyond the control of the State Society; and whereas it is believed, for these and other reasons, to be expedient for the State Society to form, at this time, a new settlement on the coast of Africa; and whereas it has been represented to the Society that Cape Palmas and its neighborhood offer commercial and agricultural facilities of the most important character, so as to make a settlement there desirable in every point of view; and whereas it is believed that a settlement thus formed by a Society whose avowed object is the ultimate extirpation of slavery, by proper and gradual efforts, addressed to the understanding and experience of the people of the State, would be viewed with peculiar interest by all those who advocated colonization on account of the tendencies towards liberty, and would receive that aid from them which would insure its prosperity and happiness; and whereas the Society believe that it is proper to use every means in their power to raise Maryland to the rank of a free State of this Union, not only on account of the immediate benefit to herself, but for the sake of the illustration which she would then furnish of the effect of colonization in removing slavery—

Therefore, be it Resolved, That this Society will forthwith establish a settlement at a suitable point on the coast of Africa, and will take immediate measures to procure, both within and without the State, the necessary pecuniary aid.

Resolved, That the Committee heretofore appointed on the subject of a new settlement, be directed to report to the Board upon the position and the details of the proposed settlement, together with the probable cost of the same.

Resolved, That the managers of the state fund be solicited to lend their aid in such a manner as they may deem proper in this behalf.

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to address a copy of the above resolutions to the Agent of the New-York State Colonization Society, and that Mr. Latrobe, Mr. Sheppard, and Dr. Bond be a Committee to conduct such correspondence as may grow out of the said resolutions in the recess of the Board.

By the politeness of Mr. Finley, we are enabled to give the following extract from a letter of the gentlemen last above named,

addressed to him, in relation to this movement of the Maryland Board. They say—‘ Without entering into a detail of the reasons and arguments that were urged, it is sufficient to say that *it was the unanimous and decided opinion of the Board, that the ultimate extirpation of slavery within the State should, to prevent all misrepresentation and misconception, be openly avowed to be the object of the Society’s existence and labors*; and it was admitted by all present, that the establishment of a new settlement on the coast of Africa, under the actual management and control of the Maryland Society, was indispensable, not only to the accomplishment of this object, but to the success of colonization generally. The subject was fully discussed and considered, and the resolutions were adopted with the most gratifying unanimity. It may well be conceived that the Board felt the responsibility of determining, without qualification, to embark in the course indicated in the resolutions; and, had their views been confined to this State alone, they would undoubtedly have paused long before they assumed the establishment of a new settlement, with the very limited means that they would be enabled to command. But, feeling that they stood on ground common to the entire people to the north, east, and west, and that Maryland was the only slave-holding State which, as yet, looked forward to the ultimate extirpation of slavery as the result of colonization, they could not for a moment doubt that their undertaking would be supported, and carried on to a successful issue, by the assistance that they would receive from other quarters.’

SONG OF EMIGRATION.

BY MRS. HEMANS.

THERE was heard a song on the chiming sea,
A mingled breathing of grief and glee;
Man’s voice, unbroken by sighs, was there,
Filling, with triumph, the sunny air;
Of fresh green lands, and of pastures new,
It sang, while the bark through the surges flew.

But ever and anon,
A murmur of farewell
Told, by its plaintive tone,
That from woman’s lip it fell.

'Away, away, o'er the foaming main!'
—This was the free and joyous strain—
'There are clearer skies than ours afar,
We will shape our course by a brighter star;
There are plains whose verdure no foot hath pressed,
And whose wealth is all for the first brave guest.'

'But alas! that we should go,'
Sang the farewell voices then,
'From the homesteads warm and low,
By the brook and in the glen.'

'We will rear new homes, under trees that glow
As if gems were the fruitage of every bough;
O'er our white walls we will train the vine,
And sit in its shadow at day's decline,
And watch our herds as they range at will,
Through the green savannas, all bright and still.'

'But woe for that sweet shade
Of the flowering orchard trees,
Where first our children play'd,
Midst the birch and honey-bees.'

'All, all our own shall the forests be,
As to the bound of the roebuck free!
None shall say, "hither, no farther pass!"
We will track each step through the wavy grass!
We will chase the elk in his speed and might,
And bring proud spoils to the hearth at night.'

'But oh! the gray church-tower,
And the sound of the sabbath bell,
And the sheltered garden bower—
We have bid them all farewell!'

'We will give the names of our fearless race
To each bright river whose course we trace;
We will leave our memory with mounts and floods,
And the path of our daring in boundless woods!
And our works unto many a lake's green shore,
Where the Indian's graves lay alone before!'

'But who shall teach the flowers,
Which our children loved, to dwell
In a soil that is not ours?
Home, home, and friends, farewell!'

NEW-ENGLAND SENTIMENT.

MESSRS. EDITORS :—The first number of your periodical was received in due season, and an examination of its contents has afforded me much pleasure. In this day of excited feelings and harsh language, it is refreshing to turn from the perusal of periodicals blazing with the fires of party strife, to those that treat, with a spirit becoming the dignity of free and enlightened men, those subjects on which men still differ in opinion. If the 'course' you prescribe is pursued both temperately and fearlessly, I cannot doubt that your labors will be appreciated, and will essentially aid in promoting harmony of feeling and action among the friends of humanity who seek the welfare of the colored race. Thus most effectually may the cause of freedom and truth be advanced, and the sufferings of the oppressed relieved. The pure, gentle spirit of christianity is the great reforming influence on which we must rely, under God, for correcting the errors, relieving the sufferings, and elevating the character of fallen man.

There is one subject connected with the cause you advocate which seems to me worthy of attention. In late numbers of the U. S. Telegraph I perceive there is an effort making to convince the southern people that a northern combination is forming to interfere with the system of slavery in such a manner as to endanger the safety and prosperity of the southern sections of the country. Whether this effort is made from an impression that such a combination is really forming, or from a desire to produce excitement, and alienate the south from the north, I presume not to judge. Whatever be the motive, it is certainly proper that the views and feelings prevalent in New-England should be understood, and having had some opportunity for ascertaining them I submit to you the following statements.

Within the last ten months I have travelled extensively as an agent for the Colonization Society, and have endeavored to ascertain the state of public sentiment in relation to slavery and emancipation, as well as colonization, in all of the New-England States. In addition to delivering between one and two hundred addresses, I have conversed with the editors of more than one hundred and fifty newspapers and periodicals, with more than five hundred clergymen of different denominations, and with a great number of active, intelligent laymen. The result of these investigations is an entire conviction that no such combination is forming; and that the Telegraph misapprehends the state of feeling in this region, by

mistaking the language of a few editors, and the zealous efforts of a few individuals, for the voice and spirit of New-England. But surely they who have been long in public life, and acquainted with the management of party excitements, ought to be aware that a few men can make a great noise on an exciting subject, and drown the voice of the multitude; and thus create an erroneous impression upon minds unacquainted with facts.

It is true that in New-England there is prevalent a strong abhorrence of the system of slavery. There is a general belief that slavery is wrong; that it is full of bitterness to the slave, of mischief to the master, and of danger and ruin to the southern states. There is a general belief that the safety and interest, as well as duty of slave-proprietors and slave-states, require that the best measures practicable should be adopted for hastening the peaceful, voluntary abolition of slavery. There is a firm belief that slavery will be abolished at no distant day; that the spirit of the age, the progress of truth, and the voice of conscience will necessarily lead to this result; or that the convulsive struggles of the oppressed will soon burst the barriers that should have yielded to the force of reason and the voice of God. But that there is an extensive disposition prevalent in New-England to interfere rashly with this system, to violate any provisions of the Constitution in relation to slavery, or to injure in any way those sections of the country where it exists, is not true. The common feeling of New-England is that of kindness and forbearance. It is a feeling of painful anxiety for the safety and happiness of the southern states, and the harmony and prosperity of the whole country. To this there are undoubted exceptions, as there is more or less of recklessness and selfishness here as well as elsewhere; and even benevolence is sometimes misguided, and *then* its operations may be not less fatal than those of sheer malice.

It is true that a considerable effort has been made to produce excitement on the subject of slavery. The *Liberator* has been published more than two years; and a few other papers have published articles fitted to produce excitement. The course pursued by the *Genius of Temperance*, at New-York, and other papers from the same office, has brought upon our editors, and, most unfortunately and unreasonably, upon temperance societies, the accusation of interfering with the system of slavery in a manner which is inconsistent with the safety of the southern people, and the harmony and integrity of the Union. The truth is far otherwise. I do not recollect more than six or seven editors, or more than this number of clergymen, among all with whom I have conversed, who approve of the temper of the New-England Anti-slavery So-

ciety. It is true that a considerable number have given notice of the lectures of its agents, and some have admitted them to their pulpits; but many of these sincerely regretted doing so, after hearing their lectures, and would refuse them any countenance if applied to again. A very considerable number of individuals, who have been reported as advocates of the N. E. Anti-Slavery Society, utterly disclaim any connection with it, and speak of its measures as unreasonable and pernicious. Some who believe that the objects of the Society, as expressed in the second article of the constitution, are praiseworthy, still believe that the measures pursued are fitted to defeat rather than to secure these objects. The friends of Colonization in New-England, generally, so far as I have been able to ascertain their views, would and do gladly engage in efforts for the education of the free colored people in this country, if proper measures were and are pursued; but they believe the efforts of this Society fitted to injure these unfortunate people immensely more than to benefit them; fitted to cherish in them a spirit of jealousy and bitterness, and thus to increase the prejudice against them, and throw them out of employment; to increase the dangers of insurrection at the south; occasion oppressive laws for the government of the colored people; prevent their instruction; endanger the safety and happiness both of the colored people and the whites; aggravate the worst passions of men, and array the north and south against each other in fierce contentions. The people of New-England, generally, are not prepared to countenance measures which they believe must tend to such results. They do not believe the interests of the colored people are to be advanced by exciting their hostility to the whites, or by alienating the different sections of the country from each other.

I am more fully convinced than ever that opposition from this source will benefit the Colonization cause. It will doubtless alienate some friends, but it will raise up others, and lead them to examine more thoroughly and act more efficiently. I have found far less opposition to the Society, where it had been attacked, than I expected. In places where a good deal of excitement was produced by lectures, a corresponding reaction has followed, and a much deeper interest is now felt in the Colonization cause than before.

I had intended to say something of the different classes of persons who unite in opposing the Society, but must reserve this for another letter. Yours sincerely,

CYRIL PEARL.

Windsor, (Vt.) May 10, 1833.

LETTER FROM CANTERBURY.

WE feel ourselves bound, not less than inclined, in the hope of seeing justice done to all parties, to insert the following communication, from a highly respected correspondent in Connecticut.

To the Editors of the Colonizationist.

THE first number of your Magazine has made its appearance, containing an extract from some one of the anti-slavery papers, in relation to the Canterbury school; and the Editors of the Colonizationist enquire of the citizens of Canterbury, 'Are you guilty or not guilty' of the grave charges or insinuations contained in that extract?

In reply, the citizens of Canterbury would doubtless say, were you to ask them individually or collectively, they are 'not guilty.' They have already, by their public officers, furnished an account of all that has been done by them, together with their reasons for opposing Miss Crandall's project. They will not now alter this plea—a plea which every tribunal, governed by the principles of justice, will forever sustain. You can at this moment have only a sketch of their objections.

1. Miss Crandall made numerous solemn engagements with the citizens of Canterbury, that if they would aid her in the establishment of a school, she would continue the school for their children. These engagements she has violated without excuse.

2. We do not like her principles, as now promulgated. They are all hostile to the Colonization cause, and she has declared that cause to be a system of fraud from beginning to end.

3. It is, in our view, a money-making affair altogether. Thirty scholars are to pay her three thousand dollars per year, one half of which she says she can save to herself.

4. The citizens of Canterbury object to the bringing into the town large numbers of blacks from other States. Let the candid and impartial reader say, whether it would be agreeable to his feelings to have fifty and perhaps one hundred negresses in the centre of his own village, drawing after them all their associates.

5. Much might be said as to the manner in which this business has been attempted to be forced upon the citizens against their unanimous wishes.

The people of Canterbury do not object to the education of the people of color. To show that this is so, we must recur to facts. It may not be known in other States,—but it is known here,—that

in Connecticut we have a *school-fund* of nearly two millions, the annual interest of which is appropriated to schools. In these schools the *children of color* have equal privileges with the white children—nay more—they are a privileged order. They may and do attend school six months in the year, *free*, and even without the small exactions of wood or board for the instructors. At these schools our men of business are made and fitted for active life. We are not only willing but desirous that the people of color should, and they in fact do enjoy all these privileges of education in Connecticut. They are extended to all who are inhabitants of the State. This is our part, and, if more is to be done, we contribute liberally to colonize those from the slave States. Is it just then to crowd upon us blacks from other States? We say, no; and we mean to abide by the answer.

In conclusion, the good people of Canterbury respectfully caution the generous public against sanctioning all the intemperate and inexcusable efforts which are made at the present day by a few individuals who claim to be the exclusive friends of benevolence, and would exaggerate and misconstrue the acts of others.

A CITIZEN OF CANTERBURY.

Canterbury, 1833.

CORRESPONDENCE.

It gives us great pleasure to be able to state that the first number of this Magazine has been received by the friends of the cause in all quarters with a cordiality which, we assure them, will operate not less to increase our future efforts to deserve what we receive, than it has done to amply reward us for the labors attending the commencement of the enterprise. The Secretary of the National Society does us the favor to say, under date of the 20th ult:—

‘Accept my thanks for the first number of the *Colonizationist*, which I have perused with interest and gratification. There can be no doubt that the Magazine will receive a liberal support from the members of this Society.’

A highly respected friend in Maine, well known among the scholars of the north, in forwarding his own and several other names for the Magazine, takes occasion to deal thus frankly with us. He will excuse us for the publicity we give to his suggestions, for their importance is but too obvious. No doubt errors of the kind in question have been fallen into by individuals—errors some-

what the more excusable, however, we may observe, because they have arisen from an anxious desire, on the part of the colonizationists, to promote the Society's influence in favor of freedom and humanity, by conciliating that portion of the community on whom such influence must be chiefly exerted. We shall refer to this subject again when we can do it better justice. Our correspondent says:

'There exists in our community some jealousy of the Colonization Society, in regard to its bearing upon the question of slavery. There is an impression on many minds, that it does not regard with sufficient sternness this momentous political and moral evil; nay, that it has a tendency to perpetuate the system of slavery, and on that account receives the patronage of southern slave-holders, and has even, in some cases, appeared as the apologist of slavery. Such being the feeling with some intelligent men, it cannot be expected that they will countenance any of its publications. Those who are willing to admit that such charges have arisen from unworthy friends of the Society, and do not lie against its true principles, yet are disposed to think that it cannot accomplish much in doing away the evils of slavery, and would, for that reason, prefer to exert their influence in favor of measures that tend directly to that point. 'The Colonization Society,' say they, 'is a good thing, so far as it goes; but we want something more. Let the Colony prosper—send out emigrants if you will—evangelize Africa, if you can; but we must be doing something to arouse public feeling upon the question of slavery.'

Such, my dear sir, are the opinions around us. My own feeling has been and is now, that the Society has done much, and is doing more than ever, to excite inquiry upon the great question; and this is the only source from which a single ray of light has as yet been cast upon that dark cloud that overhangs a large part of our land. I think, however, the Society has, in some cases, treated the great question with too much forbearance. At least, this is my impression, and I hope that nothing may be said or done by it hereafter that will palliate or excuse a system which I believe to be deeply sinful and pernicious in all its aspects.

The feelings in regard to the Colonization Society, which I have above stated as prevailing to some extent among us, are not, I ought to say, to be ascribed to Garrison's visit last fall. He disgusted all. The question of *abolition* has been discussed pretty thoroughly during the winter, and hence individuals have been led to investigate the subject.'

In relation to a subject alluded to above, a distinguished New-England authoress, (whom we thank for the manner in which she receives our application for poetical aid,) expresses herself with an equal plainness. The want of qualification to some of her phraseology may perhaps lead to inferences which would be unjust; but in the main we feel disposed to concur with these sentiments, *so far as they go*,—for we consider them more abstract than practical. They do not decide, for instance, and we suppose are not

meant to decide, the *modus operandi* by which the evil is to be mitigated and removed. That remains yet to be discussed and to be done. And not christianity alone, and (in the language of Mr. Grattan of Virginia,) 'not humanity, and not policy, alone, call upon us: but necessity, a necessity which allows no excuse and no apology.' Will our correspondent give us an opinion upon the letter of Mr. Gurley to Mr. Ibbertson? And meanwhile her own voice shall be heard:

'I have not been able to read much these last eight weeks, and on this account have probably missed of seeing your Prospectus; but whatever tends to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate blacks, has my warmest wishes for its success. Slavery is a stain upon our land, which, in my opinion, cries to the Lord loud as the blood of Abel. And while the individual on whom that blood was found, had to bear the guilt alone, thousands of our liberty-boasting countrymen are confederates in this crime; and the fate of thousands of their oppressed fellow-men, who are groaning under the chains that a *land of freedom* has forged for them, is sported with, without compunction, by those professing themselves followers of Him whose heavenly purpose on earth was to 'proclaim liberty to the captive,' and to open the 'prison-doors to them that are bound.'

I cannot imagine how our nation can stand up before the world, with her head lifted high beneath the liberty-cap, and her eagle's wings spread for the air, while she thinks of her dealings towards the Indian and the African—while she would drive the one from his last acre of ground, that she may bind the other to it in helpless slavery. How can she do this, and talk so loudly about freedom and the rights of man?

With the stain of sins like these in her skirts, how can she dare to look up to Him for a blessing, who, in all ages, since the scene in Eden, has showered down the fire of his indignation on the land where great wickedness of the people existed, and whose word is to every guilty human being, 'be sure your sin will find you out?'

There is nothing in the law of God, or in any law of man that is founded upon it, which does not justify our holding a citizen of London, or any other European whom we may overcome by physical force, in slavery, as much as the son of Africa, or his American-born children; and strange must be the notions on which that man builds his hopes for immortality, who does not feel that justice and love towards his fellow-men are involved in the conditions on which a God of justice and of love has offered him a life beyond the grave and all the bonds of time.

Excuse my prolixity. It is a subject that, whenever it is started, always fills the fountain of feeling to overflowing; and I tremble for the land, unless she turn from unrighteousness, in the two forms that I have named, by the gospel light that is in her hand, and do unto others as she would wish them to do unto her. We feel it a distressing thing to have a fellow-countryman in bondage, among a strange and barbarous people. But it is no less distressing to the African, because he is helpless, and cannot redeem his brother or his child by ransom and certainly the act of kidnapping, or of retaining in bondage, does not as-

sure him that the actor is no barbarian, under whatsoever flag or name he may appear. The cause in which every true American *should be* engaged, can only be effectually tried by the law of God, and the decision of our *healthful* consciences. And who would venture to say that these would be in favor of another nation, stronger than ourselves, coming to steal, or take by violence our children, our brothers, our sisters? The train of evils consequent to slave-holding, in a land favored and enlightened like ours, where it is not a sin of ignorance, I fear are not to end with time. Souls are involved in the concern.'

That is, who would justify kidnapping? Very few, we trust, in this country, at this time. But the *slave-holding*, to which the inference seems to come in the next sentence, 'that is the question.' May we not believe, with our southern friend, the eloquent Mr. Harrison, of Lynchburg, that a *slave-holder* may 'acknowledge the injustice and violence of the right he assumes over his slaves, and feel it his duty before God, and to his country, to renounce that right whenever he can do it with safety, and to the real benefit of the slave,'—and yet 'doubt about the fitness of an opportunity?' We are rather inclined, with the present light we have, to suppose that he may, and we do not much apprehend being convicted *in foro conscientie* of 'apologising for slavery,' when we give utterance to such a sentiment. We shall be almost glad, however, to learn that our fair correspondent is an abolitionist, (in the sense of the N. E. Anti-Slavery Society, we mean,) for there is some reason to hope that talents like hers may at least furnish an air of respectable plausibility to that scheme which, as relates to existing circumstances in this country, it can hardly be said to have hitherto worn.

INTELLIGENCE AND MISCELLANY.

[From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.]

CONVENTION OF FREE PERSONS OF COLOR.

DELEGATES of color have been selected from most of the States in the Union, to assemble this month in Philadelphia. Their avowed object is to devise means to elevate the character and improve the condition of the colored population in this country, and to fix upon a suitable place whither they may emigrate, and where they will no longer endure the depressing inferiority to which, so long as they dwell among the whites, they must always be subjected. It is understood that the delegates are generally, if not altogether, opposed to the Colonization Society—averse to going to

Liberia—and that they have it in contemplation to plant a Colony in the Texas. Their number, however, is few, and though the noise they make is great, their influence is small. If it can be *clearly* shown that a settlement in the Texas would answer the purpose of the blacks, we would not lay a straw in their path. We are quite certain, however, that they will find obstacles in their way, much more difficult to overcome than a settlement in Liberia. In the first place, a conveyance to the Texas would be more expensive, on an average, than a passage to Monrovia. This may be easily ascertained by comparing the expense of a conveyance to the latter, with the expenses which are incurred in removing the Indians to their new locations in the west. In the second place, the price of the land in Texas is vastly dearer than in Africa. Thirdly, they must conform to the Catholic religion, (if they would have any religion at all,) whatever may be their particular creed, or they will live in constant inquietude, as well from the jealousies of the government, as of their neighbors around them. In the fourth place, very few of our colored people are acquainted with the Spanish language, and this they must acquire, if they would hold any intercourse with the present population of that region. It is well known that their ignorance of the French language was one of the principle causes of the discontent of the emigrants who went to Hayti, a few years ago, on the invitation of President Boyer. In the fifth place, admitting all these difficulties susceptible of removal, there is another which we presume will be found to be insurmountable. This presumption is founded upon the belief that their purpose will be to emigrate over land; for should they proceed by water, the navigation would be almost as long, and altogether more dangerous, than the voyage to Liberia. If they undertake it over land, how will they get to Texas? They must pass through Louisiana, which is a slave state, and will never suffer any facilities to be given for the establishment of a black Colony on her borders. Laws would be passed to seize them on their way, and thus frustrate their object. Indeed, there is such a community of feeling among all the slave-holding states, that we are much inclined to think that in the apprehension of the Texas Colony becoming a refuge for runaways, they would contrive ways and means to prevent their emigration even by sea. At all events, the other embarrassments we have alluded to are such that we trust the Convention will ponder the matter well, in all its bearings, before they venture upon a measure fraught with so many obvious and appalling discouragements.

FREE LABOR SUBSTITUTED FOR SLAVE.

WE learn from a correspondent, says the Long Island Inquirer, that Mr. Wirt, the late Attorney General of the United States, has purchased a large tract of land in Florida, for the purpose of cultivating the sugar cane. Instead of employing slaves, as is usual for such labor, he has made an arrangement with several hundred German emigrants, who go on to Mr. Wirt's estate, under the charge of Lieutenant Goldsborough. This may be considered a good beginning, and may in time be the means of substituting free white labor where slaves only have hitherto been employed. We are desirous to see an end put to slavery in this *free* country, but not sooner than shall be compatible with the rights and privileges granted by our laws to the owners of such property.

WEST-INDIA NEGROES.

THE Hon. C. Fleming, Admiral of the British West India station, on a recent examination by a committee of the House of Commons, gave it as his opinion that the negroes would soon free themselves, if they are not freed by the government—that the free negroes are industrious, and will work regularly, even in the cultivation of sugar—that they are competent to fulfil the duties of governors, generals, and priests—and that the free blacks of Cuba and Hayti are incomparably better fed and happier than the slaves of Jamaica. The Admiral is also of opinion, that the negroes are equal in intellect to the whites. He thus speaks of one of the generals in the Caraccas:—‘General Peyanga was a perfectly black man—a complete negro; he was a very well informed man, a very well educated person, and well read in Spanish literature, and was a very extraordinary officer.’

EXPEDITIONS.

WE have seen letters from Charleston, (S. C.) which refer to very gratifying accounts of the colonists who went out in the barque *Hercules*, dated the 30th of January. The writer adds, ‘I suppose that a very large number of colored persons will leave here next fall to join their friends in Africa.’ Of the party who went in the *Hercules*, one hundred and eighty in all, there were three Presbyterian and two Baptist preachers, besides sixteen Sunday school and other religious teachers. The mechanical departments were as well filled. There were one sawyer, four tailors, sixteen carpenters, two blacksmiths, four wheelwrights, three millwrights, three pastry cooks, twenty-five seamstresses and mantau-makers, three shoe-makers, four nurses, six farmers, one cabinet-maker,

fourteen washers and ironers, one mason, one tinner, one painter, one schoolmaster, one boatswain, four house servants, one drayman.

About a dozen emigrants have just sailed from Philadelphia for the Colony. They were furnished liberally at New-York, under the direction of Mr. Finley. Among the number was John Henry, of Maryland, farmer, aged thirty-two years, (wife already gone over;) William Gibbs, from this city, carpenter, aged twenty; Samuel Jackson, aged sixteen; Daniel Parker, carpenter; Hezekiah Shepherd, aged twenty-nine, of Salem, N. Y. shoemaker, with his wife, wife's mother, and child; 'Old Simon,' (so called,) member of a church in Littleton, N. H.

We have had long conversations with Simon, and have obtained an interesting detail of his life. He was originally a *slave*, in Connecticut, and purchased his own freedom for two hundred dollars, at the age of twenty-eight. He is now sixty-seven. Simon is a remarkably intelligent man, and a dignified and devoted christian.

Shepherd is an active young man, of excellent moral character. He brought with him the following testimonial, among others, signed by highly respected citizens of his own section:

Salem, May 6th, 1833.

ROBERT S. FINLEY, Esq. Agent of Col. Society.

Respected Sir:—This letter will be given to you by Hezekiah Shepherd, who, with his wife, mother, and infant child, are destined for Liberia. They have been recommended to us, in the most satisfactory manner, for intelligence, industry, and virtuous habits, and we trust will be a valuable acquisition to that flourishing Colony. We have furnished them with money sufficient to bear their expenses to New-York, or Philadelphia, where it is expected they will embark. As our County Colonization Society has been recently organized, we are not yet in funds, but we pledge ourselves to advance one hundred dollars, about the first of August, towards defraying their passage for Africa, and expect to add other contributions to your funds during the present year. The Colonization Society, in our opinion, may be ranked among the most benevolent and interesting institutions of our country and age; and that it may continue to enjoy the smiles of the God of Providence, and the patronage of the philanthropist and christian, is the fervent prayer of yours, very respectfully,

ALEXANDER PROUDFIT.
JOHN WHITON.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, reported at the Agency Office, Joy's Building, up to May 1, 1833.

Juvenile Sewing Society, in Rev. Mr. Abbott's church, Worcester,	\$14 00
Two friends at Lowell, by Rev. Mr. Freeman,	1 50
Evening Lecture in Rev. Mr. Emerson's church, Salem,	23 03
Rev. Dr. Flint's Society, " "	14 37
Rev. Mr. Upham's, " "	37 00
Rev. Mr. Babcock's, Salem, to make him a life member,	30 00
Mrs. Tucker,	2 00
Scholars of Sabbath School in Welfleet, Mass.	8 00
Sale of Earrings and Necklace, presented by a lady in Lenox, Mass.	4 50
Rev. Mr. Clark's society, Winchendon, Mass.	8 40
Proceeds of tickets at Salem Lyceum, after debate,	20 00
Rev. Mr. Dana's society, Marblehead,	20 00
Rev. Mr. Briggs' " "	5 00
Thomas Napier, Esq. Northampton,	100 00
Rev. Mr. Stearns' society, Cambridge-port,	12 59
Methodist society, Pittsfield, Rev. Mr. Nichols,	9 00
Unitarian society, Roxbury, after address by Rev. J. N. Danforth,	80 00
Rev. Dr. Lowell's society, Boston, after an address by same,	428 00
Rev. Mr. Richardson's society, Hingham, after an address by Rev. C. Pearl,	21 37
Baptist church, Hingham,	3 82
A few persons in Quincy,	2 41
A few persons in Lynn,	2 53
Rev. Mr. Colburn's society, Stoneham,	4 32
Baptist society in Stoneham,	8 92
Rev. Mr. Bennet's church, Woburn,	14 00
Individuals at Concord, N. H.	7 93
Rev. Mr. Patrick's society, Canterbury, N. H.	6 70
Gen. John Kellog, of Benson, Vt. to constitute himself a life member,	30 00
Rev. D. D. Francis, of same place, constituted life mem. by his society,	30 50
Rev. Cyril Pearl, Bangor, Me. to make himself a life member,	30 00
An individual in Sherburne, Vt.	50
Congregational society in Agawam,	7 47
Rev. J. Perkin's society, Braintree,	31 41
Contribution at Quincy,	7 44
Rev. Mr. Bennet's society, Boscawen, (East)	13 02
A few individuals in Baptist society, Henniker,	2 27
In Congregational society, " "	16 00
Hopkinton (West) Rev. Mr. Kavanaugh's society,	4 73

Boscawen (West) in Rev. Mr. Price's society,	12 16
Two persons in Alstead,	1 50
Two persons in Keene,	3 00
Rev. Mr. Morse's society, Troy,	6 68
Swansey, Rev. Mr. Coleman,	1 00
Individuals in same place,	1 00
Jaffrey, Rev. G. Lyman's society,	16 90
Fitzwilliam, Rev. J. Sabins' society,	23 39
Newport, Rev. Mr. Pearson's society,	5 25
Hillsborough, Mr. Lawton's society,	4 47
Dunbarton, Rev. Mr. Putnam's society,	14 05
Caleb Mills, to constitute himself a life member, the donation to be applied to the transportation of a pious emigrant,	35 00
Citizens of Nashua village,	27 00
Two or three individuals of Warner,	2 20
Citizens of Hopkinton,	12 00
John Knox, Pembroke,	1 00
Citizens of Haverhill,	10 23
Individuals in Lyme,	28 87
Bath, Ira Goodale, Esq. 18 00—individuals, 17 00,	35 00
Plymouth Congregational Society, 4th July collection,	20 00
Meredith Bridge village Cong. church, 11 50; Baptist, 4; Meth. 1 32,	16 82
Colebrook Congregational Society, Rev. E. Bradford,	10 33
Whole amount acknowledged in preceding list,	<hr/> \$1,340 69

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE CAUSE.

THE Publishers of the Colonizationist venture to take this opportunity of making an appeal to the friends of the cause, and of a free discussion of the merits of the cause, throughout the country, in behalf of a work which has pledged itself to that undertaking. The State Societies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, it gives us much pleasure to say, have adopted measures which *substantially* express the confidence of those Associations, in the character and course of the Magazine. Will not the other State Societies bear us in mind? We have great reason to be encouraged with our present prospects, but cannot say that we feel satisfied so long as those very considerable sources of influence, to which we have just alluded, still remain unsupplied.